

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9959
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 9874

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, NI
SUBJECT: THE POLITICS OF COALITION

REF: A) LAGOS A-64 B) LAGOS A-95, C) LAGOS A-93,
D) KADUNA 1037

1. UNCLASSIFIED. SUMMARY: THE MONTH OF JULY WITNESSED FRANTIC EFFORTS BY MAJOR POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN NIGERIA TO BROADEN THEIR BASES GEOGRAPHICALLY. CLUB 19 SEEMED TO BE THE MOST ACTIVE WITH DELEGATIONS CRISSCROSSING THE COUNTRY AS THEY MET WITH MAJOR NORHERN LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE YORUBA (IBADAN) PARAPO (YP) AND THE PROGRESSIVE FRONT (PF). AT THE SAME TIME AWOLOWO REPRESENTATIVES AND ANTI-AWOLOWO YORUBAS BOTH LOOKED TO THE NORTH FOR POSSIBLE SUPPORT. END SUMMARY.

2. CLUB 19/UP. THE DAILY STAR, JULY 20 ANNOUNCED A MEETING OF CLUB 19 AND YP LEADERS ON JUNE 14 DURING WHICH A COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL UNITY WAS ESTABLISHED TO FIND "AREAS OF COMPROMISE." CLUB 19 WAS REPRESENTED BY CHIEF DENNIS OSADEBOY, CHIEF
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M.T. MBU AND CHIEF OLU OKINFOSILE. YP MEMBERS PRESENT WERE DR. K.O. BALOGUN AND CHIEF M.-A. AKINLOYE.

3. CLUB 19/NORTHERNERS. ON JULY 18, ACCORDING TO NIGERIAN TRIBUNE OF JULY 24, A CLUB 19 DELEGATION LED BY PAUL UNONGO AND DR. OMORUYI WENT

TO KADUNA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE ALLIANCES WITH ALHAJI WAZIRI IBRAHIM. THE TRIP WAS REPORTED TO BE FRUITLESS WITH SHAGARI AND MONGUNO REJECTING THE CLUB 19 PROPOSALS OUT OF HAND. WADA LEFT HIS OPTIONS OPEN BY SAYING HE NEEDED TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE CLUB HAD A SOLID FOUNDATION. WAZIRI IBRAHIM REPORTEDLY AGREED TO JOIN FORCES WITH THE CLUB BUT ONLY ON THE CONDITION IT BACK HIM FOR THE PRESIDENCY. ALTHOUGH IBRAHIM'S WEALTH IS A STRONG LURE, CLUB 19 MEMBERS ARE REPORTED "TO HAVE THEIR DOUBTS." (COMMENT: "THEIR DOUBTS" MIGHT LIE IN THE FACT THAT ONE OF THE CLUB'S MORE ACTIVE LEADERS, CHIEF OLU AKINFOSILE, ALSO COVETS THE PRESIDENCY. END COMMENT)

4. WAZIRI IBRAHIM/YORUBAS. THE DAILY SKETCH OF JULY 17 REPORTED THE OYO STATE MEETINGS TO RESURRECT THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE (NNA) DESCRIBED IN REF B AS A MERGER BETWEEN CHIEF REMI FANI-KAYODE, FORMER DEPUTY PREMIER OF THE WESTERN REGION, AND HIS FOLLOWERS WITH ALHAJI WAZIRI IBRAHIM'S GROUP. WAZIRI IBRAHIM'S ALLIANCE WITH YP, HOWEVER, SEEMS TO BE DISINTEGRATING. ACCORDING TO THE SKETCH, AUGUST 6 YP MEMBERS ARE REPORTED TO BE COOLING TOWARDS IBRAHIM BECAUSE HIS SUPPORT IN THE NORTH IS DWINDLING. ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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A YP SPOKESMAN, ALHAJI LAMIDI ADEDIBU, THE YP IS NOW PLANNING TO ALLY WITH DR. SOLA SARAHI, THE TURAKIN OF ILORIN, WHO HAS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE GOVERNORSHIP OF KWARA.

5. AWOLowo/NORTHERNERS. THE SKETCH OF JULY 30 REPORTS THAT CHIEF AWOLowo'S ORGANIZATION HAS RECRUITED ALHAJI NUHU BAMALI, A FORMER LEADER OF THE BANNED NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC), ALHAJI YAHAYA GUSAU, ANOTHER POLITICAL LEADER IN THE FORMER NORTHERN REGION AND ALHAJI INUA WADA, FORMER MINISTER IN THE TAFAWA BALEWA GOVERNMENT. REPORTEDLY THE ALLIANCE WITH WADA INCLUDES AN AGREEMENT THAT WADA WILL BE AWOLowo'S VICE-PRESIDENTIAL RUNNING MATE. THE AGREEMENT WAS THE CULMINATION OF SEVERAL KANO-LAGOS-IBADAN MEETINGS DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS. END UNCLASSIFIED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 9874

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6. COMMENT: IN CONVERSATION WITH POLCOUNS, CHARLES ACHUKWO, ONE OF WAZIRI IBRAHIM'S CAMPAIGN STRATEGISTS, SAID THE DAILY SKETCH REPORT (PARA 4) WAS INCORRECT. THE OYO STATE MEETINGS, AS REPORTED REF B, WERE ATTEMPTS TO FIND COMMON GROUND BETWEEN IBRAHIM'S FORCES AND SOME OF THE ANIT-AWOLOWO GROUPS. ACHUKWO ALSO STATED THAT THE PROGRESSIVE FRONT IS A WAZIRI IBRAHIM GROUP AND THAT HE PERSONALLY ORGANIZED THE LAGOS BRANCH.

7. ACHUKWO DEJECTEDLY CONFIRMED THAT THE NORTH APPEARS TO BE CONSOLIDATING BEHIND SHEHU SHAGARI (REF D). HE SAID THE SULTAN OF SOKOTO, EMIR OF KANO, EMIR OF ZARIA AND THE TRADITIONAL RULER OF MINNA, AMONG OTHERS, WERE IN SHAGARI'S CAMPT AND "THEY ARE VERY STRONG--THEY HAVE COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THEIR PEOPLE." HE FEELS THAT IBRAHIM, HOWEVER, CAN COUNT ON THE SUPPORT OF HAUSAS AND FULANIS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT PLATEAU AND BENUE STATES. ACHUKWO ALSO SAID THAT, CONTRARY TO THE TRIBUNE REPORT (PARA 3) THAT SHAGARI REBUFFED A CLUB 19 DELEGA-
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TION, A MAJORITY OF CLUB MEMBERS APPARENTLY ARE CONSIDERING JOINING WITH SHAGARI.

8. FINALLY, ACHUKWO CONFIRMED THAT IBRAHIM'S

ALLIANCE WITH THE YP HAS FALLEN APART. HE SAID
AKINJEDE AND AKINLOYE ARE STILL SHOPPING AROUND.
HE OBSERVED THAT THE RAISON D'ETRE FOR AWOLOWO'S
RECENT TRIP TO LONDON WAS TO CONSULT WITH HIS LAWYER
(SIR DINGLE FOOT) ON AWOLOWO'S STATUS WITH REFERENCE
TO SECTION 207 OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (SECTION
271(2) IN RECENTLY PUBLISHED DRAFT) IN LIGHT OF
HIS 1962 CONVICTION FOR TREASON BECAUSE OF ACTION
GROUP MALPRACTICES. THIS PROVISION DISQUALIFIES
FROM CANDIDATURE ANY PERSON FOUND "GUILTY OF
CORRUPTION, UNJUST ENRICHMENT, OR ABUSE OF OFFICE
BY ANY TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY" SINCE
OCTOBER 1, 1960.

9. ACHUKWO PAINTED A DISMAL PICTURE OF WAZIRI
IBRAHIM'S PRESENT POSITION AND SAID THEY WERE
DESPERATELY LOOKING FOR "NEW STRATEGIES." HE
TALKED OF PERHAPS ORGANIZING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
AND OF TRYING TO LINE UP HAUSA-FULANIS IN KWARA
STATE. "SARAKI IS STRONG ONLY IN ILORIN--ALHAJI
ABDUL RAZAQ HAS THE POWER IN KWARA." ACHUKWO
ADMITTED ALSO THAT SARAKI APPEARS TO HAVE TEAMED
UP WITH THE YP. JUDGING FROM ACHUKWO'S APPRAISAL,
WAZIRI IBRAHIM'S MONEY IS NOT BUYING THE RESULTS
HE HAD HOPED FOR. UNLESS HIS PLANNERS CAN QUICKLY
COME UP WITH "NEW STRATEGIES," SHEHU SHAGARI
AT PRESENT APPEARS TO BE THE STRONGEST NORTHERN
CONTENDER FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

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